1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this.

One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fah tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fah me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that 586] there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6



The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6



585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
[591] one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

548 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
590 all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/62 cont./ The 586 ●
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 797
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in [178]
the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]